10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

000

BANTU STUDIES

A JOURNAL
devoted to the Scientific Study
of
BANTU, HOTTENTOT, AND BUSHMAN.

Vol. II. DECEMBER, 1924. No. 2.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Bushman Terms of Relationship. By D. F. Bleek	57
Note on Bushman Orthography. By D. F. Bleek	71
The Science of Tonetics and its Application to Bantu Languages. By Dr. D. M. Beach	75
A Note on Jan, the Bushman. By Professor R. A. Dart (Plate I).	107
On the Use of the Proclitic "A" in Sironga. By Rev. H. L. Bishop	111
Bibliographical Notes	115
Reviews	119

JOHANNESBURG.
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND PRESS.

Annual Subscription 5/- (post free). *Single copies 3/-.*

[Title page]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

BANTU STUDIES

BUSHMAN TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

By D. F. Bleek

I. Southern Group: The ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e *or Bushmen of the old Cape Colony*

THE ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e follow the descriptive method of denoting relationships, though we find some general titles or possibly expressions of affection and respect among them.

Many of their terms of relationship allow an etymological explanation. Thus, **oa** "father" is identical with **oa** "out of", sometimes used as "to come out of". **Xoa** "mother" seems to be a feminine contracted form of the same word, **xai** being the feminine ending of ʘpwaxai "daughter", and ǁkaxai "sister", the masculine forms of which are ʘpwoŋ "son", and ǁkâ "brother".

In Nama **oa** is a vulgar word for "beget" or "bear", **oaǐ** is "child", while **xai** signifies "to cohabit", **xais** being often used as "wife".

Oa forms the plural **oakn-gu** or **okn-gu**, which may denote "fathers" or "parents". **Xoa** forms **xoakn-gu** "mothers", often used where we should say "the older women" or "mother and her friends".

The words **ibo, itau** are terms of address, "my father," "my mother." Though **i** alone means "we", here it is used for "my". "One person is the one who says **ibo**," was a Bushman's explanation. "Our father" would be **i oa**. **Ibo** sometimes becomes **bobo**. I think it may have some connexion with the Nama masculine ending **ba**, and **itau** with the Nama feminine plural ending **ti** or **te**, corresponding to an old femine singular **ta**, now turned in Nama to **sa**. **Taras** is the Nama polite term for "woman", "mistress". Certainly **te, ite, aiti** appear as endings to feminine terms of relationship among the ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e as in ǂaiti "wife", "woman", ǃkoĩte "granny", ʘpwaitente "mother-in-law", ǁk'aiti "child's mother-in-law". In some masculine terms of relationship we get

601
193
196
601
Cp. 57]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

193 ã or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǂkãŋ "grandfather", ǁkã "brother", ʘpwoŋ "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".

[196] [601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 [192] On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǂbo, we say ǂ oa, but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǂbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

193 196 601 ʘpwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes "child", which in ǂxam is ǂkwã. That ʘpoŋ "son" and ʘpwaxai "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ʘpwai-ǂhĩ "father-in-law" is derived from ʘpwa "child" and ǂhaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ʘpwaitenta would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǂhaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǂkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may [538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

196 601 ǁkã, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkàb means "the same". The adjective ǂkəri simply means "big".

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

I think ǃkŏŋ, ǃkoŋ̃e "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuŋ̃a "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǃke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". Xoa ǃke-ke means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǂxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-ʘpwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

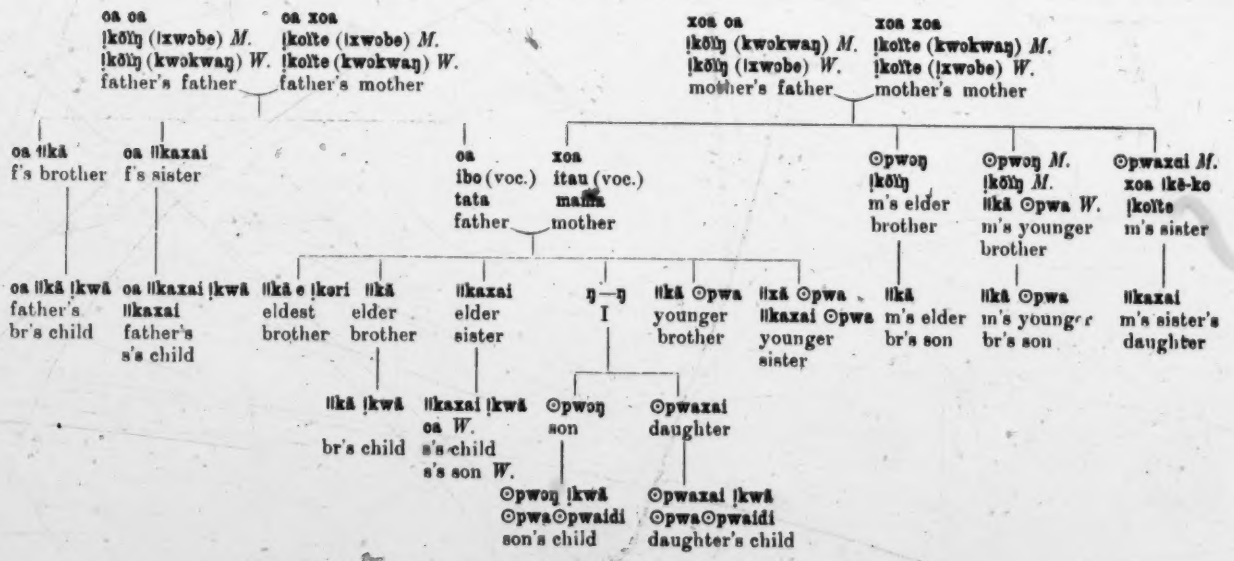
[Text continues on page 62]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam
601

Tables of Bushman Terms of Relationship

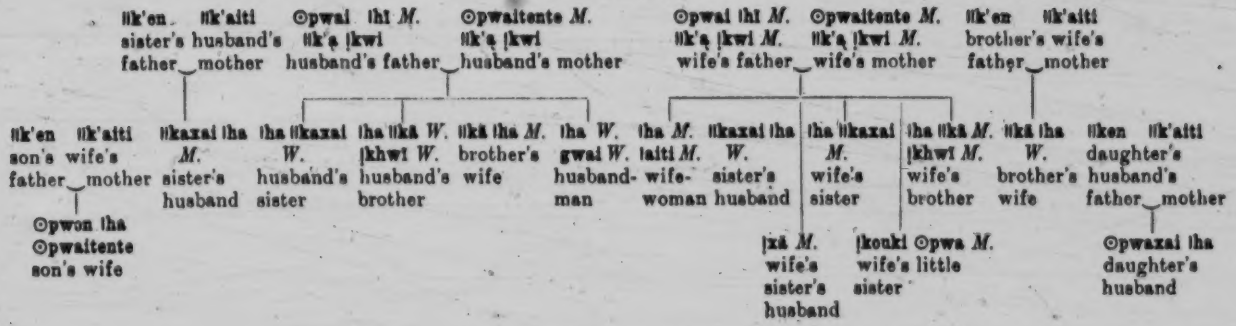
1. Southern Group: Among the ǃxam-ka-ǀ'e

(a) Blood relations



M. means man speaking; *W.* means woman speaking.

(b) *Relations by Marriage*


ǂk'en sister's father
ǂk'aiti husband's mother
⊙pwai ǂhi M. ǂk'a ǂkwi husband's father
⊙pwaitente M. ǂk'a ǂkwi husband's mother
⊙pwai ǂhi M. ǂk'a ǂkwi M. wife's father
⊙pwaitente M. ǂk'a ǂkwi M. wife's mother
ǂk'en brother's father
ǂk'aiti wife's mother
ǂk'en son's father
ǂk'aiti wife's mother
⊙pwon ǂha ⊙pwaitente son's wife
ǂkaxai ǂha M. sister's husband
ǂha ǂkaxai W. husband's sister
ǂha ǂkā W. ǂkhwi W. husband's brother
ǂkā ǂha M. brother's wife
ǂha W. gwai W. husband-man
ǂha M. ǂaiti M. wife-woman
ǂkaxai ǂha W. sister's husband
ǂxā M. wife's sister's husband
ǂha ǂkaxai M. wife's sister
ǂkouki wife's little sister
ǂha ǂkā M. ǂkhwi M. wife's brother
⊙pwa M.
ǂkā ǂha W. brother's wife
ǂken daughter's husband's father
ǂk'aiti mother
⊙pwaxai ǂha daughter's husband

[p. 61]

601

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam
Auen
Kung

601 I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been
[597] brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǁ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǂk'au ǂen (*Auen*), *and* ǁkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

193 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting
601 terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: tai or aiŋ "brother", taisi "sister", where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and si instead of ti for the feminine ending, or a prefixed di "female".

[193] Ma is the diminutive ending; ǁna means "big, grown up", ǂga
196 means "old, worn out". ǁku or ǁkū I think means "kinsman" or
601 "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǂk'au ǂen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as tahu or tsu, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in ǁkuŋ, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. ǁko, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to ǁkoĭte "grandmother", probably a feminine form of ǁku or ǁkŏĭŋ. Mama used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and tai are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents ibo, itau. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. ǁkwā and ǁkao are simply "man", and dzou and zau "woman". ǁkwā o m ba seems to mean "man of my father", which does not seem sense for the mother's father. Tai o dzou "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǂen terms are apparently borrowed from Naron, for instance, ǂwiakwe "brother-in-law" and ǂkū "greatniece". ǂwi ǂkwā would be the correct form, corresponding to ǂwi dzou "sister-in-law". ǂkū is simply Naron for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used Naron words or Naron forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 [192]

The ǃkuŋ terms show more variety. ǃkū ǂnue seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". ǂga and ǂge seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of ǂkā "brother", or of the Naron ǂka.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a ǃkuŋ story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The Naron *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as **mama**. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either **aba** or ǂku. **Aba** is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. **Eisha** I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

ǂkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", ǂkuŋ **kwena** means "grown-up people", ǂkuŋ **tarro kwena** "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

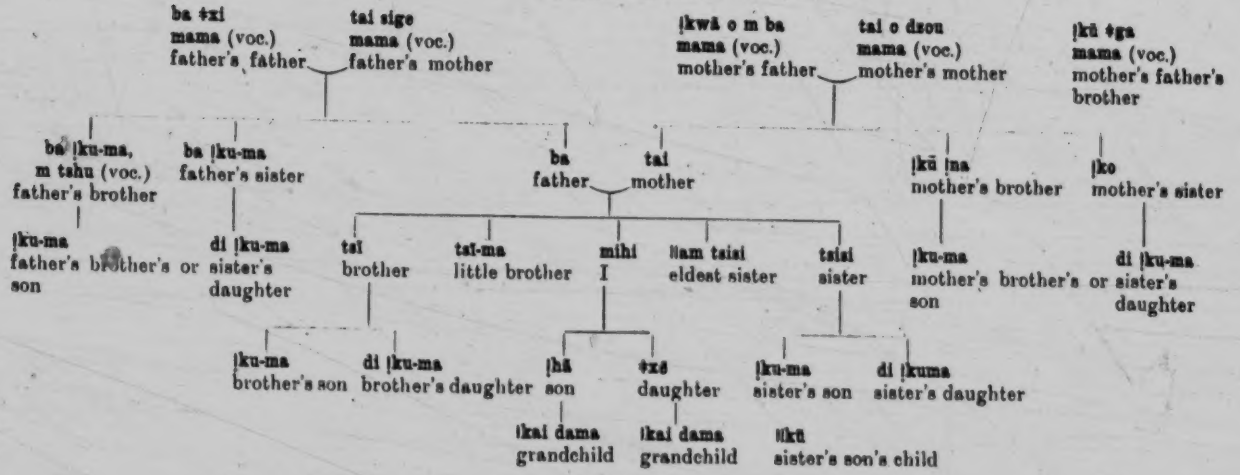
Likewise the word **tshō** is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

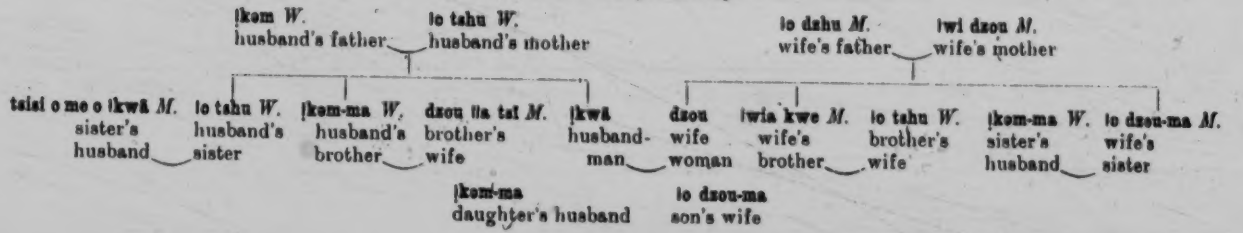
10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

2. Northern Group: Among the ǂk'au ǁen (Auen)

(a) *Blood relations*



(b) *Relations by Marriage*

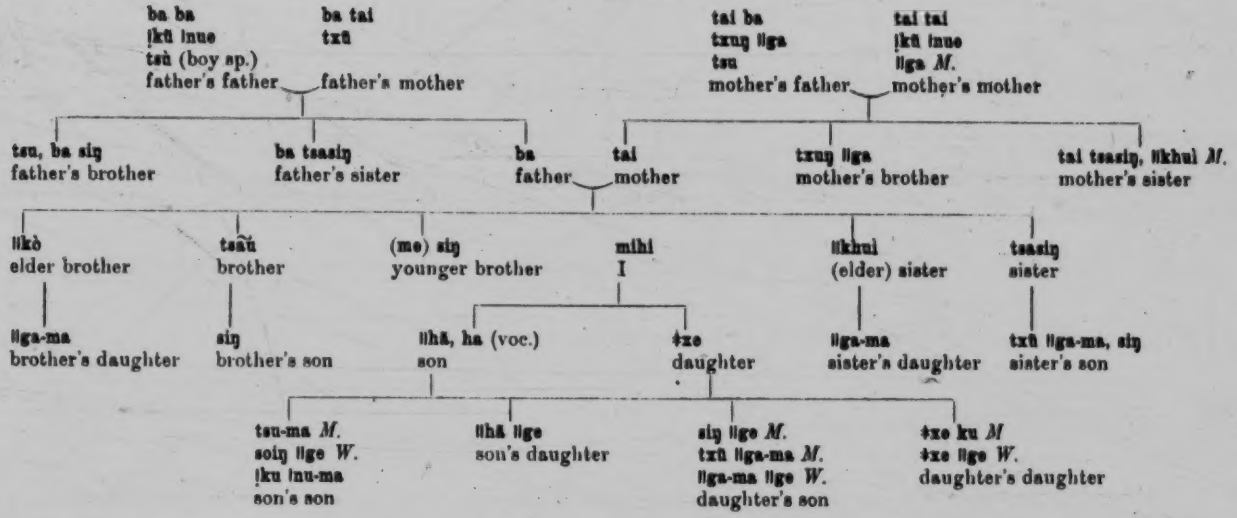


[cp. 64]

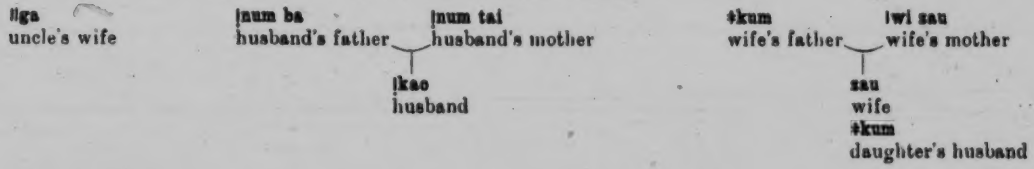
601
10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

AMONG THE ǂkuŋ

(a) *Blood relations*



(b) *Relations by Marriage*



[p. 65]

10:Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root, but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tahō is called tahō by that person. Other connexions are called ǂwi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as ǂwishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law ǂwi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law ǂwi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child, the former being called ǂku "son", the latter tahō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tahō.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǂka in **ǂkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǂkai** "together". **He** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kwoba** and **ti kwosa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **koba** and **kosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǂkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂnam** and **ǂkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

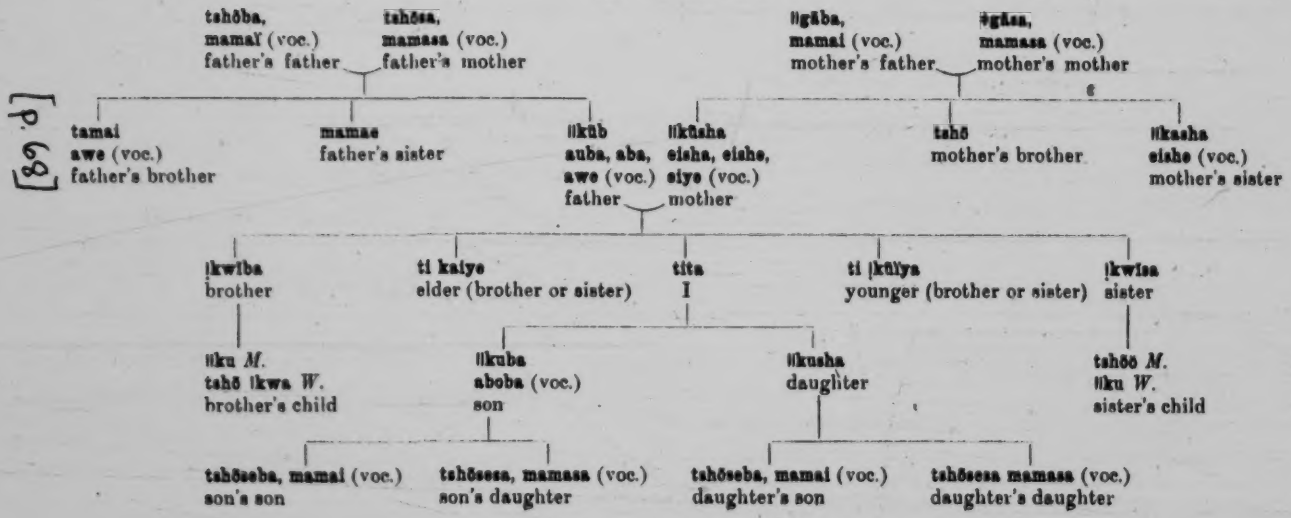
[Text continues on page 70]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron
601

[p. 69]

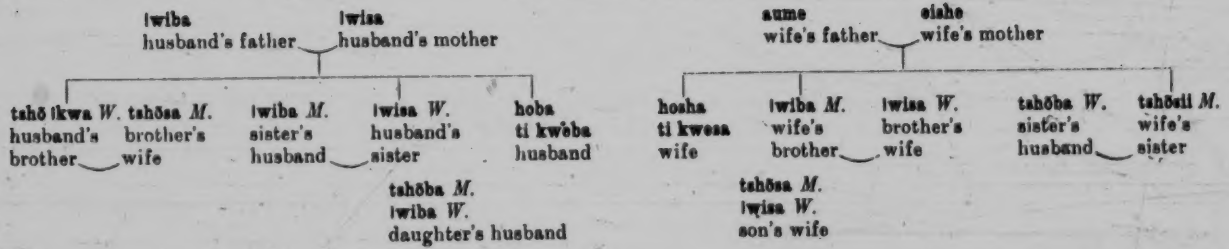
3. Central Group: Among the Naron

(a) Blood relations


tshōba, mamaĭ (voc.) father's father
tshōsa, mamasa (voc.) father's mother
ǂgāba, mamai (voc.) mother's father
ǂgāsa, mamasa (voc.) mother's mother
tamai awe (voc.) father's brother
mamae father's sister
ǂkūb auba, aba, awe (voc.) father
ǂkūsha eisha, eishe, eiye (voc.) mother
tshō mother's brother
ǂkasha eishe (voc.) mother's sister
ǀkwiba brother
ti kaiye elder (brother or sister)
tita I
ti ǀkūĭya younger (brother or sister)
ǀkwisa sister
ǂku M. tshō ǂkwa W. brother's child
ǂkuba aboba (voc.) son
ǂkusha daughter
tshō M. ǂku W. sister's child
tshōseba, mamai (voc.) son's son
tshōsesa, mamasa (voc.) son's daughter
tshōseba, mamai (voc.) daughter's son
tshōsesa mamasa (voc.) daughter's daughter

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

(*b*) *Relations by Marriage*



[P. 69]

601

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 [161] keep the numbers down. No one has a large number of uncles and aunts, or cousins. There is not a large public, whose opinion would enforce keeping laws strictly. Individual liberty is therefore far greater than can be the case with any tribe with large numbers living in crowded villages. Extremes meet, and we find in the most primitive society a family life far nearer our own than in many intermediate stages. The woman is her husband's partner rather than his property. The family consists of parents and children, and breaks up with the parents' death. There are no chiefs: society is ruled not by law, but by custom interpreted by individual sense of fitness. A very few things are felt to be wrong, everything else is permitted. The Bushman is first and last a lover of liberty.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

By D. F. Bleek

IN writing the article on "Bushman Terms of Relationship" appearing in this issue of *Bantu Studies*, I have tried to follow the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, as far as I understand it, except for denoting clicks. For these I should be willing to use the symbols chosen by Mr. Doke for Zulu clicks, were they adequate for expressing all the click combinations found in Bushman; but they are not. 104 114 194

Had Mr. Doke seen fit to adopt one symbol for each implosive sound, regardless of the accompanying breathed sound, I could have used these symbols for three of the Bushman clicks. But unfortunately Mr. Doke has not followed that course, but has chosen three symbols for each implosive sound denoting a combination of the implosive sound with the sound made by the expulsion of the breath.

Every click has a double closure, one made by the front or tip of the tongue against the teeth, alveolar, or palate, or of the lips together, the other by the back of the tongue against the velum, as Mr. Doke has shown in his admirable experiments. In making the click alone, only the front closure is audibly released, the back closure might stay in position, for all we know, no breath being emitted from the lungs. We cannot call that click either unvoiced, voiced, or nasal. But in speaking, this implosive sound is accompanied or followed by breathed sounds. The back closure being in the position for "k" or "g", if the air is pressed against that closure while the click is made, it will produce a slight "k" or "g" sound in rushing out. These sound combinations are called by Mr. Doke and others unvoiced and voiced clicks. If the uvula is lowered while making the click, a nasal sound is produced.

For these three combinations Mr. Doke provides symbols. All three are found in Bushman, the first in very many examples; but there are words in which not the slightest "k" or "g" sound is audible with the click, the back release is silent. In others the back release is silent, but an aspirate follows before the vowel. Again, there may be a treble closure: front of tongue, back of

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

104 114 194 tongue, and glottis. The front of the tongue is released first, making a click, then the back is exploded, making a sort of glottal plosive. The fricative "x" may also be combined with the click. For these clicks or combinations of sound there is no provision in Mr. Doke's system, so to avoid confusion I have followed the old custom of all writers on Bushman and Hottentot, and used a sign for the click alone, expressing the other sounds by their ordinary symbols.

104 194 This may best be shown by examples. We find the dental or alveolar click in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǀa	to fight		
ǀka	to leave	ʇa	ca
ǀkha	stick	ʇha	c'a
ǀha	husband		
ǀxã	to shoot		
ǀk'a	river bed		
ǀga	hippopotamus	ɴa	gca
ǀna	head	ɳa	nca

The retroflex plosive click is found in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǃa	along		
ǃkã	to await	ʈa	qa
ǃkhau	bee	ʈhau	q'au
ǃham	first		
ǃxa	sister-in-law's husband		
ǃk'ao	to skin		
ǃgã	frog	ɑa	gqa
ǃna	winter	ɲa	nqa

These combinations can be found with the retroflex fricative click, which corresponds more or less to the lateral click of Bantu. Bushmen do not make this click with the tongue against the teeth or side of the mouth, but place it in about the same position as for the last click, only they release it gently, as in making the dental click. I give as examples:—

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǁa	to go		
ǁka	wet	ʒa	xa
ǁkhā	lion	ʒha	
ǁhagen	to equal		
ǁxā	again		
ǁk'a ǀkwi	son's father-in-law		
ǁga	night	ŋa	ŋxa
ǁna	there	ǁa	nxa

\ below the line indicates a low intonation.

The same combinations can be found with the alveolar plosive click, which is made as the retroflex plosive click, only with the tongue pressure very far forward, almost on the teeth. For example :—

Bushman spelling.	English.
ǂabbakn	to burn
ǂkā	bare
ǂkhàra	wingfeather
ǂhau	to jump
ǂxamma	to fetch
ǂk'anna	to call
ǂgabbetn	to throw
ǂna	to forget

The fifth click, found only in Southern Bushman, is made by pressing the lips together and then sucking the air in. It is found in the following combinations :—

⊙pwa little, ⊙bu to rain gently, ⊙ho tree, ⊙mwainya to kiss.

In his "Notes on a problem in the mechanism of Zulu clicks", Mr. Doke speaks as if no "k" sound were heard in what he calls the "unvoiced" clicks. I think most people hear a very slight "k". Colonials, in using Zulu or Kafir names, very often omit the click and say the rest of the word as they hear it. They always get a "k" sound, *Cetywayo* becomes **Ketywayo**, *X'osa* becomes **Khosa**, and so forth. I do not know of any Bantu names with clicks that have turned into words beginning with a vowel on the lips of Colonials.

On the other hand Hottentot place names, when adopted by Colonials and stripped of their clicks, sometimes become words

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

000 beginning with "k", such as *Kakamas*, *Karakhois*, from ǂkakamas, ǂkarakhois; and sometimes turn into words beginning with a vowel, as *Aus*, *Abiam*, *Oas*, from ǂaus, ǂǁabiam, ǂǁoas.

Moreover, by speaking of "unvoiced" clicks, Mr. Doke shows 104 that he is thinking of the expulsion of breath from the lungs, not 114 merely of the implosive phone, the click proper. In spite of my 194 disagreeing with him on this point, I would adopt his symbols, were they adequate for Bushman transcription. As it is, I stick to the old signs long identified with the Hottentot and Bushman clicks, and sufficing for all purposes, rather than inventing a whole row of new symbols.

000 To Dr. Beech I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A., which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me. I only hope that this attempt at Bushman transcription may be clear to other students.